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THURSDAY
AUGUST 5, 1954

Freddy Reinhardt came to see me this morning, at Al Gruenther's instance, to show me a letter to Gruenther from a French General, who is president of a veterans' organization, protesting against EDC. I advised that Al send an officer to make an oral answer, explaining that, as Shape Commander-in-Chief, he could not involve himself in French politics but that he believed a German army was necessary to European security and the best and safest method to obtain and control it was through the EDC mechanism.

Tommy came to lunch and we went over two cables [redacted] we will send jointly with Dillon. One recommends against the U.S. at this time favoring the rumored visit of Mendès to the United States, and the other, quoting almost verbatim a memorandum of Tommy's, is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
REVIEWED BY CEC DATE 7-1-81
DOE ☐ or XDS ☐ EXT. DATE
TS AUTH. REASON(S)
ENDORSE EXISTING MARKINGS ☐
DECLASSIFIED/RELEASABLE ☑
RELEASE DENIED ☐
PA or FOI EXEMPTIONS

"SENT: SECSTATE WASHINGTON. PRIORITY. 504.

"RPTD INFO: AMEMBASSY LONDON 116
HICOG BONN 78
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 17
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE 13
AMEMBASSY ROME 26

"Subject: consideration of EDC Problem within the French Government.

"Re DEPTEL 447.

"FROM BRUCE AND DILLON.

"Following information representing summary of EDC ratification picture has been checked and rechecked with various French officials participating in these questions.

"As of first of this week Mendès-France was still insisting, in conversations on the EDC with his Cabinet Ministers and advisers, that EDC Treaty cannot be ratified in its present form and that a 'compromise' including substantial changes must be found. Mendès still has no proposals to make himself. He now thinks that other EDC countries will accept also any reasonable change

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that he will propose. He does not agree with position of Bourgès-Maunoury that any French proposal on EDC must be limited to 'improvements' in present text which would not require action by parliaments of other EDC countries.

"Mendès has been impressed by firm and clear position of Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, the Federal Republic and United States on EDC a few weeks ago and was inclined to believe that he had left very little room for maneuver. Now he has put this aside as an initial reaction on part of the other countries. This unfortunate change in attitude of Mendès can be in large part attributed to activities of Spaak during last ten days. Spaak has presumably given impression that other EDC countries might accept almost any change proposed by France. In particular, he is reported to have seen no special difficulty with the ideas calling for unanimous voting by the Commissariat and postponement of many features of the Treaty for a five-year period.

"Now that confrontation between Bourgès-Maunoury and Koenig has failed and has given Mendès-France breathing spell on the EDC that he wished, he is conducting his own confrontation with a small group of advisers in process of making up his mind about what to do.

"De Seynes is to present pro-EDC side of confrontation and Gros, the anti-EDC side. Unfortunately De Seynes is almost entirely new to EDC Treaty and does not fully understand real objectives of present European policy. On positive side, he is in close contact with pro-EDC officials in Paris. Gros on other hand knows Treaty backwards and forwards and is most intelligent man in the anti-EDC group in the French Foreign Office which has been trying to kill or thwart European policy for last three years. Additional advisers working directly with Mendès are Boris, Parodi, and Chatenet, all confirmed opposers of EDC.

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"At least three other groups have also been asked to work up the proposal that Mendès might make in connection with EDC:

"1. The old anti-EDC group under Parodi -- Chatenet, Gros, Bergner, Wormser, etc. -- is now back in business and is in direct contact with Mendès. This group has drawn up a new treaty of about 14 articles based on the 'little NATO' concept of a seven-nation coalition of national armies including the United Kingdom. There are, of course, special limitations and restrictions on Germans. An armaments pool of six nations with some supranational features is included as usual so that France can take advantage of all the EDC features on armaments production which the French like so much. This scheme is very similar to first scheme that Nutting, Kirkpatrick, Roberts and others in British Foreign Office suggested might be possible a few weeks ago.

"2. Guérin de Beaumont also has a small group. They now seem to be on right line of limiting themselves to proposals which would not require new actions by parliaments of other countries. The change in de Beaumont's position is said to be due to strong position taken by Dutch, particularly the rather insulting attitude Beyen took on de Beaumont's ideas of postponing certain supranational features of the Treaty. The report send by de Beaumont to Mendès-France after his trip to The Hague is supposed to have been very good from a pro-European point of view. Apparently idea of Commissariat voting by unanimity has now been dropped by de Beaumont. If so, French Embassies in the various European capitals may cease to advocate this idea as the possible solution.

"3. Bourgès-Maunoury is continuing to prepare a French position limited to 'improvements' which would not require new parliamentary action by other countries. Quai d'Orsay officials have leaked a large part of the possible suggestions to press. This publicity plus Alphand's efforts to take credit for nearly every

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suggestion will not help in convincing Mendès that this should be his policy.

"Bourgès-Maunoury seems to be getting along very well with Mendès. The esteem is said to be mutual. Mendès was apparently helped a great deal by Bourgès during difficulties in his cabinet over Tunisia. It is nearly certain that Mendès will consult Bourgès almost daily on EDC question and, presumably, Bourgès could force Mendès to present a reasonable proposal to the Brussels meeting by resigning, as he promised, if something other than present text of EDC Treaty is presented for ratification.

"Various pro-European officials are nervous about tactics that Mendès might adopt. They fear Mendès may try to maneuver as follows: he would decide at last minute to propose a 'compromise' changing or postponing supranational features of Treaty and creating overtly or otherwise a German national army; he would not at that stage seek support of political groups in French Assembly but would first seek approval from the U.S. and the U.K. probably in the form of 'we cannot write the EDC Treaty and we will accept whatever the other EDC countries will accept'; he would force an anxious Adenauer and a mediating Spaak to agree to submit whatever is necessary to their parliaments; he would then face the MRP, the Socialists, and Independents and the Radical Socialists with this 'fait accompli'.

"In summary, tension is mounting in Paris on both sides of EDC question as Mendès continues successfully to conceal his views and intentions. Pro-European leaders have indicated that they are prepared to force resignation of Mendès if his 'compromise' goes beyond changes considered eligible by Bourgès-Maunoury. Guy Mollet has stated publicly that he will firmly oppose any changes which by postponing or watering down supranational features of Treaty would lead to recreation of German national army. Chaban-Delmas, on other hand, states that ex-Gaullists will overthrow Mendès government around August 20 on EDC issue and

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create political situation which will lead to 'crisis of regime' in September. DILLON."

I spent the late afternoon gardening at Versailles, where we passed the night. Even there the recent ban on automobile horns in Paris, except to avoid imminent accidents, has had a sympathetic effect. The roads, in spite of heavy traffic, are unwontedly quiet, and nothing disturbs our peace except the training airplanes from nearby St. Cyr and the cannonading from automatic shotguns in the fields of the adjoining agricultural experiment station, designed, I suppose, to scare off crows and other nuisances.

I've read a lot in the last few days, including Hemingway's excellent Green Hills of Africa, Harold Nicholson's lectures on The Evolution of Diplomatic Method, Barbier's Memoirs of the Regency and Louis XV, the Prince de Ligne on Casanova, and a smattering of other books.

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